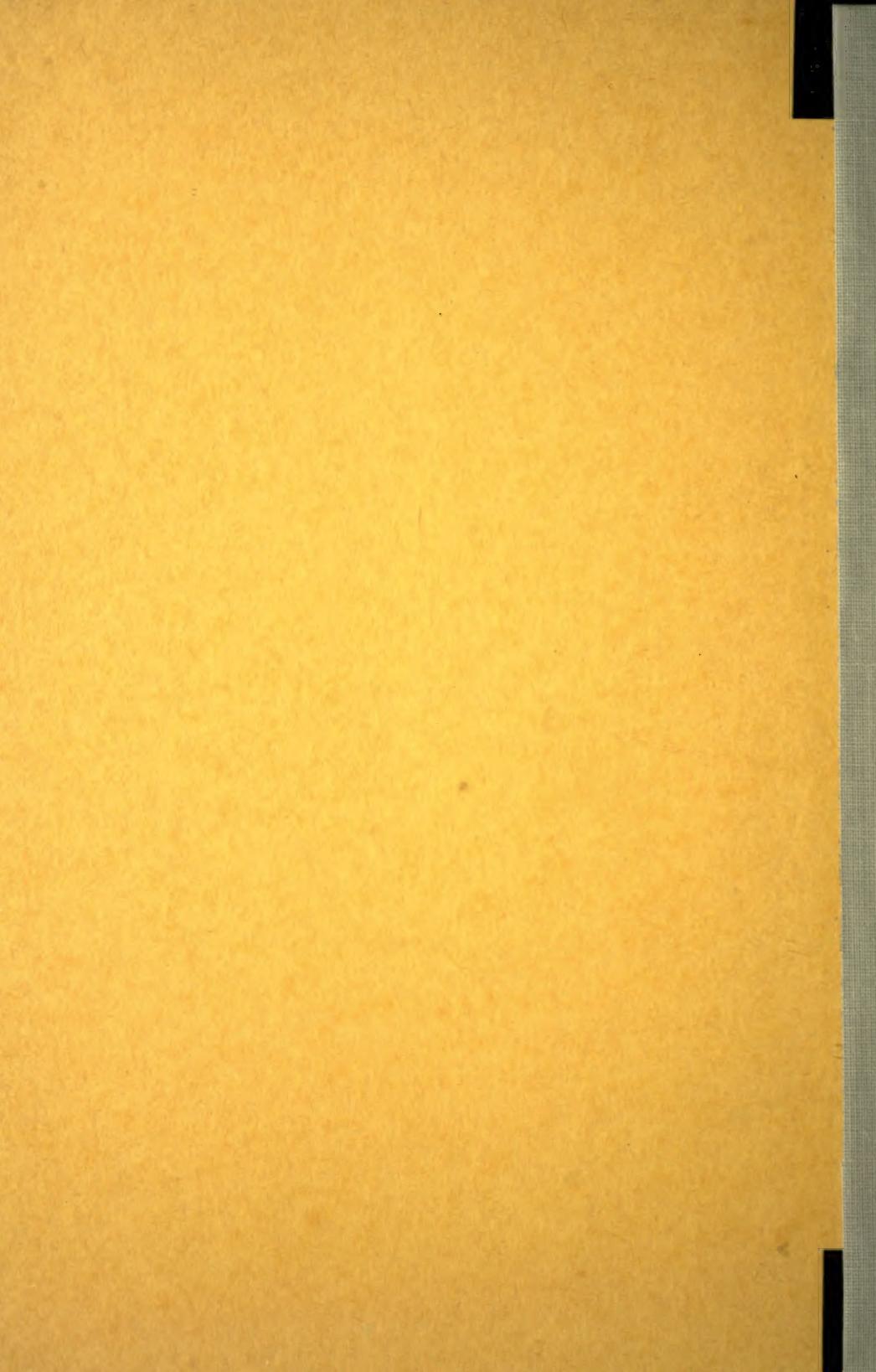


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THE CAUSE OF IRELAND

AND

ITS RELATION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

STATEMENT

BY

HON. W. BOURKE COCKRAN

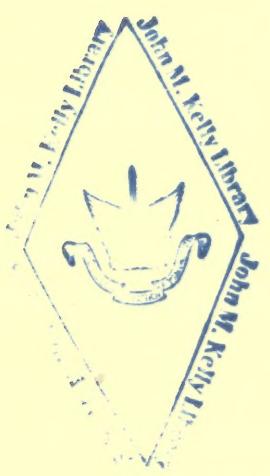
BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1919



WASHINGTON
1919

CAPTAIN ALFRED MANLEY.
COMPLIMENTS OF



STATEMENT

BY

HON. W. BOURKE COCKRAN

Judge DANIEL F. COHALAN. Mr. Chairman, I desire now to present the last speaker of the hearing. I want to say, first, a word of thanks, and to reserve the right for filing statements, which you gave some time ago, from a great many people from different parts of the country. I shall not take up further time now, except to present one of the foremost men of the country and of the Irish race, a scholar, a student of affairs, a statesman, and an orator, Hon. William Bourke Cockran, of New York.

Mr. COCKRAN. Mr. Chairman and Senators, I would like to begin by answering some questions that were propounded this morning to gentlemen who appeared here in opposition to this proposed league of nations. One of the most important was that of Senator Borah, who asked if it were true, as some gentlemen have contended on the floor of the Senate, that if this league of nations be established it would prove a very effective agency through which Ireland could obtain her independence. I take it that Senator Brandegee's question was put in amplification of Senator Borah's inquiry, because he said Senator Walsh made practically the same statement in the course of debate.

Senator BRANDEE. I did ask such a question; but I did not know that Senator Borah had previously asked it.

Mr. W. BOURKE COCKRAN. I shall, therefore, answer both Senators together. I think that Senator Walsh supplied the answer to his own contention most effectively. He said, as I recollect, that there were three means by which a subject nation could effect its independence. One was by consent of the governing nation, the other was by revolt of the subject people themselves, the third was by outside intervention, and he claimed great credit for the proposed league of nations, because it prohibited but one of those methods of relief, leaving the other two open and available. The objection to this position is that no nation ever did achieve its independence by consent of the dominant power, or by naked action of its own people. Every successful revolution of which I have any knowledge was effected through outside support. The American colonies would not have been free but for the intervention of France. Cuba would still be under the domination of Spain but for the intervention of this country, and Greece would still be languishing under the heel of the Turk if it had not been for the assistance of Christendom. So that when Senator Walsh says that by this treaty subject nations are deprived of but one avenue of escape from servitude, the answer is that they are deprived of the only one through which escape can be effected.

There is another question which Senator Brandegee asked that I think ought to be answered. He inquired whether appeals are allowed from decisions by a single official committing Irish men and women to jail for long periods. At this time Ireland is practically under martial law—which means no law at all—or what is virtually its equivalent, “The defense of the realm” act. Everybody understands that martial law is suspension of law, substituting for law, which is a regular fixed rule of conduct, the whim or judgment of a single official. In Ireland, under the present system, the people are governed by two whims, either one of which constitutes the rule of conduct for the population. One is the whim of the commanding military officer, and the other is the whim of an official called a resident magistrate, apparently for the reason that he is never a resident of the locality in which he officiates. The expression, “R. M.”

officially intended to signify resident magistrate, will describe him much more correctly as "removable magistrate." He is the only magistrate under the whole British system who is removable at the pleasure of the Crown. I need not remind the chairman of this body that the chief fruit gained by the revolution of 1688 was the termination of the system under which judges were removable by the Crown, and under which they were, in the language of Lord Macaulay, not champions of truth and justice, but "greedy and ferocious butchers," eager to satisfy every demand of despotism.

The removable magistrate always dreads removal, and the only way to avoid it is by delivering the judgment which the prosecuting officers desire. The effect is that if a man makes a speech, as Mr. Walsh told you, advocating the Republic—nay, if he utter a word which the police dislike—he is promptly haled before either a drumhead court-martial or one of these resident magistrates and condemned without any chance of appeal to the hideous indignities which have been described so forcibly here today. Nothing could illustrate more strikingly the conditions against which Irishmen are in revolt than this deliberate establishment in Ireland by the English Government of a judicial system so fruitful of abuse that Englishmen themselves rose in revolution to drive it from their own country.

When conditions somewhat similar, though I do not think they were quite so onerous, existed in Cuba, the chairman of this committee, and I think many others of its members, were quick to insist that intervention to stop those outrages became a task imposed upon us by our primacy of civilization; that continuance of a government which had become perverted from its natural functions of defending peace and order to perpetrating the very outrages on justice which government is organized to prevent, was an injury to civilization which all the forces of civilization should combine to remove. And we, as chief among those forces, drew the sword and ended that abominable system in Cuba. A worse system exists today in Ireland. It can be terminated, as far as we can see now, by no means except the influence of this American Republic, and we are here to protest against any treaty, league of nations, or whatever it may be called, that will exclude consideration of the monstrous conditions that afflict Ireland from the jurisdiction of the conscience of civilization, of which the Senate of the United States has always been the foremost and best exponent.

I pause for a moment to say that if there be any other Senator who wishes to ask me about present conditions in Ireland I will be very glad to answer him. If nobody cares to put a question, I shall proceed to discuss the treaty now before you purely from an American standpoint.

Mr. Chairman, the gentlemen who preceded me have all said, with great force and feeling, that while they are of the Irish race they are of American birth, and that they love above all other things the country in which they were born. I am an Irishman by birth as well as by blood. And the reason I am here is that I do not want the Government whose shelter from my earliest youth I was resolved to seek, whose benefits I have enjoyed, to be emasculated, impaired, or destroyed, as I believe it will be, if this treaty is ratified. And in saying this I speak not alone for myself—my race is well-nigh run—but for my entire generation and the generations that are to follow. The light that inspired me and millions like me to cross the seas I hope the Senate will not suffer to be extinguished, but that through your action now it will be maintained strong and effulgent for all the children of men throughout the world.

Mr. Chairman, whether the right of this country to interfere—at least so far as to exert its moral influence—for deliverance of Ireland from conditions that are a scandal to civilization shall be preserved or whether it is to be renounced and destroyed by ratification of this treaty, is not an Irish question. It is not a question affecting solely England's domestic politics, as some gentlemen have contended. It is an international question, because it is a question affecting the peace, and, therefore, the welfare of the entire world. Judge Cohalan has told you there can be no peace throughout the world until Irish discontent is composed. This is not, as many might say, a mere expression of exaggerated rhetoric. It is the sober accurate statement of a fact which all history attests.

It is certainly one fact of history which none can dispute that every great war which became general—every one became general by England's entrance into it—and which has scourged the world for the last four centuries—that is to say, since the emergence of modern civilization from the wreck of feudalism—has had its beginning in Ireland—every one, without exception.

This last war which has just closed we all know was caused by the German Emperor's belief that civil commotions in Ireland made 1914 the period when he could strike his long-meditated blow for world dominion with the strongest hope of success. The great wars of the French Revolution, which culminated in the Napoleonic wars, began with representations of the united Irishmen through Wolfe Tone to the revolutionary government in France that the conditions then prevailing in Ireland—brought about by the deliberate recall of Lord Fitzwilliam and the refusal of concessions which had been promised to the Irish people—had made the land ripe for rebellion. The hostile manifestations by the French people and their Government which these representations provoked were the chief causes that led Pitt reluctantly to join the alliance against France. The attempt of Hoche's expedition to land in Ireland, which was frustrated when his ships were blown by a gale out of Bantry Bay in 1796, marked the real beginning of that desperate struggle between England and France, which after ravaging Europe for a generation, ended at Waterloo. At the close of the seventeenth century it was the intervention of Louis XIV in aid of the Irish attempt to maintain James II in possession of his crown which brought about the Grand Alliance against him, that afterwards, as the War of the Spanish Succession, plunged Europe in the disastrous conflict that was settled by the peace of Utrecht. The great war between Elizabeth and Philip II of Spain for control of the seas began with a descent of Spanish and Portuguese soldiers on the coast of Kerry, who were all killed to a man after they had surrendered to Sir Walter Raleigh, and whose massacre is the only cloud on the fame of that knightliest figure among Elizabethan warriors.

Why is it that every world war, if not actually caused by Irish discontent, has yet made Ireland the theater of its first beginnings? This can not be due to a mere fortuitous combination of circumstances. My purpose is to show that the condition of Ireland has been a constant invitation to every country with a grievance against England to strike her at that spot where she was believed to be vulnerable, and where she will continue to be vulnerable just so long as the oppressions against which the Irish people have struggled for eight centuries are suffered to exist. So that the Irish question is not a matter that affects England and Ireland alone, and one which therefore can be called domestic. It is one that has affected the peace of the world for four centuries and which will continue to affect it, in the very nature of things, so long as it is permitted to remain an open sore in the side of Christendom. To compose this difficulty and settle it is a task imposed upon the statesmanship of civilization, and, therefore, it rests peculiarly on your shoulders, Senators, charged as you are at this moment with responsibility for the conditions under which peace is to be reestablished throughout the civilized world.

Probably the greatest difficulty in dealing with the Irish question is to understand just what it is. It has been so misrepresented—and by the greatest masters of ingenuity in misrepresentation that the world has ever seen—that many men, ordinarily well informed, are in doubt as to just what it is that causes the Irish complaints. We are told that other countries have been conquered as Ireland has been, and yet they have long since ceased to complain of the conquest or even to think about it. We are told that Irish grievances are fanciful, not real; that they are not caused by injuries which are actual, but by recollection of ancient injuries that sprung from laws which have long since been repealed. We are told that Ulster is prosperous and contented, while the rest of Ireland is discontented and poor because its people are improvident, shiftless, idle; and that this demand for Irish independence merely embodies, while it disguises, the desire of an improvident, shiftless, idle majority to obtain and abuse the power of taxation over a thrifty and prosperous Irish minority.

It is also said that there is a religious question involved; that Ireland's refusal to acknowledge the authority of England is but the intolerance entertained by one religious sect against another—the disposition of Catholics to oppress and drive Protestants from the country. These, I think, are all the grounds on which are based opposition to recognition of the Irish republic. They are set forth in a brief submitted to this committee by certain persons claiming to speak for Irish Unionists, which I have just been permitted to read. Now, if these statements are true, if Ireland has been reduced to its present condition by the faults or vices of her own people, sympathy for them would be useless. They are incapable of improvement. They must inevitably disappear from the earth which they encumber and discredit. But if the evils which afflict the Irish people be the direct result of laws which have produced intolerable conditions, that still exist, although the laws themselves have been repealed, and if it be true that England has shown she is incapable of doing justice in Ireland, even when a majority of the English people are really anxious that it should be done, and the English Parliament solemnly resolved to do it, then there can be but one outcome. Either English rule in Ireland must be ended or the Irish people must be exterminated. That is the alternative. I think it is entirely capable of demonstration that the Irish people can not be exterminated, and extermination being impossible, emancipation is imperative.

Let me explain to you why it is that although these oppressive laws have all been repealed the conditions they produced still continue. All the history of Ireland ever since the first Norman invasion has been an unbroken record of conquests and seizures of lands—first the devastation of land, always followed by confiscation. But neither conquests nor confiscation sufficed to keep the country permanently impoverished. From the first landing of Strongbow, in 1172, down to the final overthrow of Irish independence by William III, the Irish people after each invasion and devastation restored prosperity with a celerity and completeness that have been marvels to all historians.

Mountjoy, under Elizabeth, reported to the Queen that everything capable of supporting life in Ireland had been burned to the roots, that the whole Irish population had been exterminated, except a few fugitives who had taken refuge in morasses where they could not be reached, but where, for lack of food, they must inevitably starve. And yet in the very next reign Ireland was blooming like a garden. In the time of Charles I the prosperity of Ireland had already awakened the envy and cupidity of Englishmen; but the Irish, with that peculiar sense of loyalty which is one of their characteristics—often misdirected because carried to excess—having embraced the side of the King, fell under the vengeance of Cromwell. Again the island was devastated with fire and sword. The whole of the land east of the Shannon was confiscated. The entire native population outside of many thousands who were slain, and other thousands sold into captivity, was transported west of the Shannon to a soil which was believed to be so sterile that it could not afford subsistence to human life. Cromwell's brief statement of his policy was that the Irish must go "to hell or to Connaught." Well, they went to Connaught, but they did not go to hell (laughter), because there was always one Irish champion whom, some way or other, the British arms could never overcome, and that was the Irish girl. Any Englishman who received land and settled upon it soon fell under her influence. That was already so clearly apparent in the time of Richard II that he passed the statute of Kilkenny forbidding any Englishman who had received land in Ireland from marrying an Irish woman. But the Irish girl was too strong for statutes. She continued to marry the English settler in the teeth of all prohibitions, and the offspring of those marriages were the strongest Irish patriots.

Although the land had been laid waste with a fury hardly ever paralleled in the annals of mankind by the English Parliamentary forces, first under Cromwell and after him under Ireton and Ludlow, yet when William III in the next generation faced a patriot Irish army, a large part of it was composed of the sons of those Ironsides to whom Cromwell granted land in Ireland. After that dreadful Cromwellian devastation the recovery of her prosperity by Ireland in the reign of Charles II is declared by Macaulay to be the

marvel of all history. It is acknowledged even by Froude—who will not be suspected of any partiality toward Ireland—that in the reign of Charles II practically the entire transportation of goods by sea from the Old World to the New was carried on in Irish bottoms. Irish cattle and horses commanded the highest prices in English markets, and Irish woolen products were considered to be the very finest in the world.

Almost immediately after his accession this king for whose father Ireland had incurred the resentment and fury of Cromwell, yielding to representations by merchants of Bristol, excluded Ireland from the operation of the navigation act. The effect of this was a total destruction of the Irish shipping trade, from which it has never recovered. Next, in obedience to a demand of English agricultural interests, exportation of Irish cattle and horses to England was prohibited. That reduced property in live stock to one-tenth of its former value. But the woolen industry remained, and probably from the fact that the energies of the country were now mainly directed to it, and the whole capital of the nation largely absorbed in it, the manufacture of Irish cloth expanded to a degree unapproached in any other country of the world.

But when William III finally established his authority by the victories of Aughrim and the Boyne, and by his treason at Limerick, the surrender of which he accepted on terms that permitted the garrison to march out of the city and the country, while at the same time guaranteeing to the Irish people the right to practice their faith, prosecute their trade, and retain their property—a treaty that was violated the moment the Irish army had departed from Ireland—then the system was adopted which Edmund Burke has described in words probably familiar to every one of you. He said the Irish penal code was “as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a feeble people and the debasement in them of human nature as has ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man.” That system produced the conditions which today afflict and distress the Irish people and which can be ended only by ending the dominion of England over the country.

After all former confiscations and devastations the country recovered rapidly because the people were allowed to resume possession of the land. But the devilishly ingenious system adopted by William III and his immediate successors precluded any possibility of an Irishman being able to obtain any part of the land on which he lived.

A succession of statutes enacted during 50 years resulted in a body of laws under which no Catholic—that is to say, no native Irishman—could hold land. The whole surface of the island had been confiscated. The original owners of the soil were allowed to dwell upon it merely as tenants at will. The confiscated lands were not bestowed, as in former cases, upon English soldiers who settled in Ireland, but upon favorites of the English court in large areas of 5,000, 10,000, 15,000, and even 30,000 acres, who never lived in Ireland, who never intended to live in it, who seldom if ever visited it. Every Catholic was prohibited not merely from holding land but from leasing it for a period longer than five years. He could not own a horse worth over £5. If a Catholic appeared in a public place mounted on a horse any Protestant could take possession of the animal by tendering the rider a £5 note. Beyond impoverishing the Irish people, it was sought to accomplish their degradation by forbidding the education of youth. The only element of the community capable at that time of imparting education was the clergy, and the priest who taught a school was declared guilty of a capital offense. The spectacle was common of a priest's dead body hanging in chains, executed for no other offense than that of having undertaken to instruct an Irish boy. Not content with seeking to accomplish the intellectual degradation of the people, these statutes sought to corrupt their morals by undermining the foundations of the family. The son who accused the father of being a Catholic and proved it could at once take possession of the estate. The wife who informed on her husband was at once accorded a separate and independent interest in his property. So that wifely loyalty and filial piety—every emotion which in civilized countries is considered necessary to the wellbeing of a community, and therefore to be encouraged by government—was perverted in Ireland to the injury of morals and the disruption of society.

Under this system the people hardly ever came in contact with the owners of the soil. In almost every instance an agent represented the alien landlord. The value and efficiency of that agent were determined by the amount of rent which he could extort from the unfortunate occupants of the land. If a man by dint of arduous labor improved the soil he occupied and made it more valuable, the agent at once descended upon him and raised the rent. Not merely were all the fruits of his own labor confiscated but all his neighbors were promptly informed that unless they made their soil equally fruitful and raised the same amount of crops, that is to say, paid the same rent, they would be evicted. And eviction was death. Not merely was industry made unprofitable by this hellish system; it was made unpopular. The laborious man did not benefit himself, but he brought disaster upon his whole neighborhood. The unfortunates who were evicted were left to starve on the highways. There was no other occupation in which they could find a livelihood because, by a refinement of cruelty that is almost inconceivable, the only industry that survived the hostile legislation of Charles II—the woolen industry—was entirely destroyed by William III. It was not taxed out of existence. It was not made to bear burdens imposed avowedly for the support of the State, which prevented it from being prosperous. It was prohibited absolutely and unconditionally. All existing factories were suppressed, and the people were forbidden, under heavy penalties, from attempting to engage in the woolen trade. More than that, the Irish wool, at that time—the Australian wool not yet having become available for the world's necessities—was of a peculiarly valuable character. Not merely was the manufacture of woolen goods prohibited in Ireland, but exportation of Irish wool was prohibited to any place except six English cities, the idea being that the English manufacturer by these restraints would be enabled to obtain Irish wool on his own terms. But there was an extensive woolen industry in the low countries where a great demand arose for Irish wool as soon as its manufacture was suppressed in Ireland.

Wool that would bring 6 pence at Bristol commanded I shilling and 7 pence in Ypres and in other Flemish towns. Quite naturally smuggling of Irish wool to the Continent became one of the chief occupations of the Irish people. But the worst feature of this oppressive measure was not the loss of money or of property that it entailed. It was this: Wool being contraband, trade in it could not be prosecuted through bills of exchange and other devices of banking which govern commerce. It could only be bartered for some commodity not easily discovered, for everywhere the Irish coast was patrolled by British officers charged with the duty of preventing smuggling where they could and punishing the smugglers where prevention was impossible. Wool was exchanged mainly for Flemish wines. This extensive importation of wines was the cause and the beginning of that intemperance that has been the curse, Senator (turning to Senator Phelan), of your country and of mine, of your race and mine, for 250 years. Before the beginning of the seventeenth century the Irish were a temperate race. But the example of the well-to-do consuming expensive wines soon caused a demand for coarser and cheaper intoxicants by the less prosperous. To meet this demand the manufacture of illicit whisky became extensive, and the people gradually sank into that dreadful intemperance from which they have suffered both at home and abroad ever since. Mr. Chairman, the curse of this intemperance has been Ireland's, the shame of it is England's.

I am not saying this on my own authority. Here again, sir, I am quoting from James Anthony Froude—the apologist of English excesses in Ireland—who, indeed, seems to complain that if these enormities had gone further the race would have been exterminated and the Irish question settled finally and without appeal.

Now, it is quite true that these proscriptive laws have all been repealed. They began to disappear in the latter half of the eighteenth century. And it is to the credit and glory of this country that their disappearance began when fugitive Irishmen—Presbyterians who fled from the enforcement of the test acts and settled in Pennsylvania, and Catholics who had fled from other parts of the Island—were found fighting side by side under the banner of Washington for freedom, justice, and right. Up to that time religious proscriptions

were not confined to Ireland. They were universal. They were based on the assumption that anything like diversity of religious faith among the people of a State weakened it, and therefore it should be prevented by the Government. The Huguenots were placed under serious disabilities in France; so were the Catholics in England. But in Ireland it was the distinctive feature of these proscriptive measures that they were not intended to discourage Catholicism or encourage Protestantism, but to degrade the whole people by plunging them into ignorance and by corrupting every avenue through which could be reinforced those virtues and qualities that are considered essential to the well-being of every state. In Ireland the faith professed by the people was proscribed with a violence which nowadays can hardly be understood. And this fact must be borne in mind when you consider the Irish question. It is the only country in the world where the people have remained steadfast to a faith that had been proscribed. In every other country the people adopted in a body the religion that its government established. England became almost uniformly Protestant, or at least non-Catholic, under Henry VIII; almost uniformly Catholic again under Queen Mary; Protestant once more under Queen Elizabeth; and it was ready for another change to Catholicism—according to the historians—if James II had but governed with a little more sense. And so the religious complexion of the French people was decided by the result of the religious wars.

But in Ireland the majority of the people remained immovably attached to the faith that was proscribed and prohibited under drastic penalties, though they had to sacrifice for it not merely every element of property they possessed, but every hope of improving their condition. The extraordinary thing about their tenacity in this respect is that it was maintained, without those aids to fervor which the Catholic liturgy affords. Such a thing as a great religious ceremonial had not occurred in the country, at the time of which we are speaking, for 150 years. Their lands confiscated, their faith proscribed, they practiced the rites of their church crouching in garrets and hiding in outhouses. Driven from the towns and villages, they took refuge in some mountain glen, and there, under the broad canopy of heaven, the rains falling on them, often knee-deep in mud, with sentinels posted at each end of the glen watching for the priest hunter, who was an established feature of these conditions, all contemporary writers agree in saying they worshipped with fervor never shown in the stateliest cathedral ever raised by the hands of piety to the worship of God. Even after they had regained the right to practice their faith, it has been remarked that they showed very little regard for its ceremonials. But nothing could swerve them from attachment to its tenets and teachings. And as they remained immovably attached to their faith, so also have they always been unswervingly steadfast in maintaining their national life. It is a peculiar feature of this determination to maintain their national existence that it does not seem to be based on any hope for the future. This is clearly reflected in their poetry, which is perhaps the most melancholy in the world, as it certainly is among the most beautiful. I am one of those who believe that sorrow has always been the source of exquisite poetry. I have never known a sublime note to be inspired by prosperity. Not merely is there a vein of profound melancholy through all Irish poetry, but it never expresses any hope for the future. Yet there is never a note of despair in it. Every line of it breathes the determination of Irishmen to love the old sod, maintain the old faith, preserve the old race, though they never again should see the light of freedom. Moore, describing the Harp of Tara, silent, abandoned, the chord alone that breaks during the night, telling the tale of its ruin, concludes:

"Thus Freedom now so seldom speaks;
The only throb she gives
Is when some heart indignant breaks,
To show that still she lives."

Freedom has, indeed, lived in the hearts of Irishmen under all circumstances; under the darkest skies, without any hope of deliverance. Even when there was no chance for Irish arms to fight for it, there was always an Irish heart

ready to break for it. Freedom, though denied them as a possession, has always remained an aspiration from which they could never be separated. Such a people can not be seduced from their ideals nor diverted from asserting their right to nationhood. Such a people can not be subdued, and, therefore, Senators, I submit to you with all frankness and perfect confidence that the only alternative which the Irish question presents is extermination or emancipation of the Irish people. You Senators, to whom is confided the treaty-making power of this Government, will not suffer the destruction of such a race as this, and if you will not suffer it to be destroyed, then you must insist that it be free. There is no alternative. (Applause.)

Now, with respect to the religious question: It can not be denied that Ireland has been torn by religious antagonism. But the cause of this is perfectly simple. And it should be remembered that whenever the Irish succeeded in establishing control over the government of their own country, as they did at intervals—in 1642 and again in 1688—the first act of the Catholics when they became dominant was to declare absolute religious freedom for all. The reason why religious antagonisms have divided the Irish people is because in that country religion was made the test of political rights and property rights. When a man could be ousted of his property because he was a Catholic (and that by a person bound to him by the closest ties of kinship); when a man could be deprived of the horse he rode by a total stranger on the tender of a £5 note because he was a Catholic; when he was excluded from every office under his government and denied the right even to educate his child because he did not profess the faith established by law, it was inevitable that the victims of such oppression and the beneficiaries of it would be influenced by hostility against each other.

I should add here, in order to explain why Ulster was prosperous while the rest of the country sank into misery growing ever deeper, that a totally different system of laws prevailed in the one place from that which governed the other. In Ulster, ever since its "plantation" by James I, there was in force what is called "Ulster tenant right." Under it the occupant of the soil could till it and improve it with a certainty that every improvement he made was his property, to enjoy it while he remained in occupation and to be paid for it if he were removed or evicted.

And the linen trade of which Ulster is the theatre was tolerated and protected, while the woollen trade, which had flourished in the rest of the Island before the eighteenth century, was suppressed and prohibited by William III. So the difference between Ulster and the rest of the country is simply this: In Ulster normal progress has been made by the people under the stimulus to production caused by the application of steam to machinery and the invention of other labor-saving devices. This she was able to do because she enjoyed the benefit of civilized laws. While in the rest of the country the people were driven from every avenue of industry except agriculture by laws which everyone acknowledges were a disgrace to civilization.

It is true that even under this system Ireland enjoyed a brief period of prosperity, but that only shows how absolutely essential to restoration of the country's industrial life is restoration of its national life. Between 1782 and 1800, when, as Mr. Walsh has mentioned, Ireland enjoyed an independent government of her own, the owners of property who sat in Parliament found it to their interest to live in the country. And when they were thus brought into contact with the occupiers of the soil they were quick to realize the necessities of the people and to sympathize with them. But when that Parliament was strangled through the corruption of its members, *the landlords had no longer any inducement to remain in the country*. Again they became absentees, and the remarkable prosperity produced by that short period of independence was changed to a long, unbroken period of progressive decay. Again the rack-renting agent drew from the soil everything which it yielded beyond what sufficed to afford its cultivators the barest subsistence. And for this chance to live there was the fiercest competition among the members of the wretched population, each one eagerly bidding against all others for the privilege of cultivating the land upon any terms whatever. Under this competition conditions of life sank so low that the Irish peasant never tasted meat from one

year's end to the other. The potato became the sole support of his existence. And when in the years of '46 and '47 there was a general failure of the potato crop throughout Europe it was a source of loss to the people in other countries, but in Ireland it caused actual starvation. We often hear of the "famine" in Ireland. But, strictly speaking, there was no famine. While the people were dying by hundreds of thousands for lack of food, there passed before their eyes along the highways droves of cattle, wagons laden with foodstuffs, all products of their own labor, sent out of the country to be sold and the proceeds paid to alien landlords.

In any other country in the world these abundant supplies would have been seized, and the people would have used them to avert hunger. In Ireland an exaggerated sense of property led the people to perish of starvation rather than take what, according to law, belonged to the landlord. But it is said Ireland is governed by exactly the same law as England with respect to land. Quite true, but the conditions established under these laws in the two countries are widely different. The English landlord always lives upon his estate; the Irish landlord seldom, if ever. The English landlord has always held himself to be the chief of an industrial family, the head of a great industrial organization, dividing the whole product of the soil with those who have aided in cultivating it.

I know of nothing more impressive in civilized life than the manner in which these English lords of the soil exercise their ownership over it for the benefit of the people who cultivate it and for the glory of their country. The manor house, which to many casual observers is a mere abode of elegant luxury, is actually to the great agricultural organization of which its owner is the head what the countinghouse is to a factory. From it the landlord directs all the energies of his tenants and dependents. This landlord is never "off his job" for a moment. Even in his amusements he is always discharging his duty, fulfilling his task.

We often hear of the claret-drinking, fox-hunting squire, as though his whole life were devoted to the consumption of wine and the hunting of foxes, and he does spend a good part of his time in these agreeable occupations. (Laughter.) But when he is hunting over his own fields and those of his neighbors he is scrutinizing his fences and the condition of his farmers' and laborers' cottages and comparing them with conditions existing on the estates of other landlords. When he is shooting he may be conscious of nothing except a desire to kill partridge or snipe, but to reach this game he must walk through the stubble in which the birds are concealed, and there he is necessarily informed of the manner in which the field is cultivated by his tenant. If the fences are broken, cultivation of the field inefficient, cottages dropping into decay, the tenant is required to explain. If that tenant can show that he is not responsible for these conditions and could not avoid them, the landlord himself always feels bound to repair them. If, for instance, the tenant by reason of a large and growing family finds himself unable to continue paying the rent he had previously paid, no English landlord would ever think of evicting him. The opinion of his own order would forbid it. To throw a deserving man out on the highway who for reasons beyond his control was no longer able to pay his rent would be an offense against his obligations as a gentleman, almost worse than cheating at cards. But while public opinion in England makes the landlord a trustee for the benefit of those who under his direction cultivate the soil, the Irish landlord, who seldom lived in the country or saw his property, was under no restraint whatever in dealing with his tenants. His sole object was to obtain and enjoy the uttermost penny that his agent could extort from them. And thus it came to pass that the very same man—and I am speaking now, Mr. Chairman, of matters within my own knowledge—who in England is the very embodiment of paternal care for his tenants, often suffered an estate owned by him in Ireland to be administered with a ruthless cruelty which produced conditions difficult for us to conceive in this country. The absentee Irish landlord, though he was oppressive, was not always consciously cruel in the treatment of his tenants. The system made him a tyrant or at least tempted him to tyranny even when he himself was naturally well disposed.

One man of my own acquaintance who is still living, and who occupies a very prominent position today in English public life, the younger son of a great noble, became a naval officer and received from his father when he came of age a property that yielded about £1,000 a year. This property which he had never seen was managed by an agent. He went on the turf and in the course of a few weeks the thousand pounds which constituted his annual income passed from his pockets into those of enterprising bookmakers. As was usual with Irish landlords living out of the country, he wrote a letter to his agent asking of he could not send him some more money. The agent answered that the income from his property might easily be doubled. "Why the mischief then don't you double it," he asked. "I want to be sure," the agent answered, "that I will be sustained." Now this man is quite an extraordinary person, gifted with a mind singularly effective in analysis. Concluding from the agent's statement that there was something about the matter which needed explanation, he resolved to visit the estate and ascertain for himself the real condition. The agent met him and escorted him over the property, showing him various farms for which the rentals paid, he said, were entirely inadequate, and finally reached one which seemed to be particularly well kept and prosperous. "There," said the agent, "is one of the best farms on the estate. It is easily worth 2 guineas an acre, and all that the tenant pays for it is 2 and 6 pence." When the landlord asked why the higher rental was not obtained for it, the agent answered that when rentals had been raised on Irish estates the agents always incurred bitter enmity. This they were prepared to face, but they had not always been sustained by their principals. And this particular agent before he took any steps to increase rentals wanted to be assured that he would be supported by the landlord in any trouble that might ensue.

Now, this particular landlord from his entrance into the naval service, had always made it a rule when anything under his authority went wrong to go and ascertain the cause of it for himself. Even after he rose to be an admiral—I may as well say that the man of whom I speak is Lord Charles Beresford—if an engine on any ship of his fleet was reported out of order he never contented himself with sending an engineer officer to find out what was the matter. He always ordered a boat lowered and went and ascertained it himself. And so when the agent made this statement about the farm renting at what appeared to be such an extraordinarily low rate, Lord Charles concluded that he would go and see the tenant personally and get his side of the matter. The following morning he appeared at the cottage door and was welcomed by the occupant, whose name, I think, was Monahan. To enter a house in Ireland, no introduction is necessary. Anyone who appears on the threshold is sure of a cordial reception. After exchanging a few pleasant words with Mr. Monahan, Lord Charles made some observations on the excellence of the farm. Now, an Irishman who receives congratulations on the farm he occupies always discerns in the compliment a potential, if not probable, rise of rental. And so, when Lord Charles asked him how it happened that he only paid 2 and 6 pence an acre for land easily worth 2 guineas, the tenant said, "And may I ask, sir, why you busy yourself about my farm or the rent I pay?" Whereupon Lord Charles said, "I am your landlord." And then this man, well-nigh 80 years of age, broke down and wept like a child. The dread stroke, which every Irish tiller of the soil who has made it productive always apprehends, seemed to have fallen. In piteous accents he sobbed, "Oh, my lord, for the love of God, don't take the farm from me. It is true I am paying but 2 and 6 pence an acre for it, but when I came here that land was not worth 6 pence an acre. The value it has today is the result of work put into it by me and my boys during the last 50 years." Four sons, the oldest nearly 50, the youngest over 40 years of age, had spent their lives in helping him to effect this improvement. "My lord," he said, "I will give you half of it, I will pay 1 guinea an acre, but let me keep the rest." and Lord Charles said, "No, Mr. Monahan, I am sorely in need of money, but I would have to be much harder up before I could take away from you the fruits of your life work and of your four sons. Keep your farm at 2 and 6 pence an acre as long as you live."

Now, suppose this landlord had not taken the trouble to ascertain for himself just how his agent could have increased the rentals of his property, that tenant and his four sons would have been evicted, turned out on the road to die, unless they could obtain enough money to buy a passage to this country. And in just that way and under just such conditions hundreds of thousands—aye, millions—of Irishmen, victims of this accursed system, have been driven from their own hearthstone to seek asylums in this country and other lands beyond the sea. But their love of Ireland instead of diminishing grew deeper by absence from the soil. That love they have transmitted to their children and to their children's children, many of whom have never seen the country which they love, with an ardor that is unquenchable. It is this greater Ireland beyond the seas which rises now to denounce that system before the bar of public opinion throughout the world. The conscience of Christendom has already decreed that the system must end. And I pray, Senators, that you will not, by ratifying the treaty, prevent the United States from proving itself, through all the years to come, as it has been in the years that are past, the most effective agent in enforcing the decrees of civilization in favor of liberty and justice.

So you see the conditions produced by the abhorrent laws of the eighteenth century have continued down to the present day. The laws themselves have been repealed, but the conditions they produce remain. It is true that in law Irishmen can now purchase property and hold it without any disqualification on the ground of religion. But practically land in Ireland was until very recent years, absolutely unattainable; first, because the Irishmen, excluded from all avenues of productive industry for generations, had not the capital where-with to purchase land, and if by any chance he became possessed of sufficient means to purchase land, it was a point of honor among the landlords not to sell. Thus conditions originally produced by law have been perpetuated through custom. They continued unbroken until the Wyndham Act of 1912 was passed.

The results produced by that measure before the war were amply sufficient to convince the most skeptical that the wonderful industrial efficiency which enabled the Irish, after every devastation of their country, to restore prosperity in an incredibly short space of time so long as they were allowed to regain access to their soil, had not deserted them or diminished in the slightest degree. Just consider for a moment the immediate effects of that legislation. Remember that by this measure the Irish land was not taken from the landlord and given to the tenants without compensation of any kind, as it had been originally taken from its occupiers. It was taken at a high valuation, and after this high valuation had been fixed by mutual consent 12 per cent in addition was given to the sellers as a bonus. That was all charged upon the land, the occupier of which was empowered to take possession and to become the absolute owner on paying the total amount of the purchase price in installments extending over 62 years—I think that was the number of years. Under that law one-half of the land of Ireland passed into ownership of its occupiers. The transfer involved some twelve hundred thousand transactions. And what absolutely seems to transcend the possibilities of human capacity, there was not a single default, so far as I know, in fulfilling any of these agreements. Never in the history of man have transactions on a scale so stupendous occurred without a single breach of agreement.

Not merely was the letter of every agreement observed by the Irish, but they cultivated the soil thus restored to them with such energy and efficiency that by 1914 they had already effected a wonderful revolution in their condition. The cabins—the hideous, noisome cabins which I myself remember, in which we would not suffer a pig to exist now, where human beings, 9 and 10 in number, and animals, if they were lucky enough to have a pig or two, dwelt together promiscuously under a few sods placed against an upright pole, an open space at the top allowing smoke from turf and such articles as they burned for fuel to escape—have all disappeared. Decent whitewashed cottages have replaced them. Implements of industry are kept in excellent order. I never saw better horses anywhere than in Ireland while I motored through it in 1913. It seemed as if the Irish people were once more on the very threshold of a prosperity such as had blessed the land between 1782 and 1800—the monu-

ments of which are those beautiful buildings that ornament the city of Dublin to the admiration of visitors from every part of the world.

At this time while prosperity was returning apace, and prospects brightening steadily, the British Government undertook to pass a measure of home rule, encouraged doubtless by the excellent use which the Irish people had been making of their land. This measure did not in fact provide for home rule at all. The body it proposed to create was not a parliament but a commission to propose measures for the English Parliament. Certain subjects were relegated to this new body, but the power of the English Parliament over it was supreme—so complete that not merely was the right reserved to set aside any act which the Irish Parliament might pass, but where that Parliament had acted on a subject entirely within its jurisdiction the British Parliament was free to pass a different act, and this act of the Imperial Body was to prevail as the supreme law of the land. Here surely was a measure which the most radical English opponent of Irish home rule could well have afforded to accept. Though it did not establish an Irish Government in any sense of the word, yet the Irish representatives who then appeared to speak for the majority of the people accepted it. And there was every reason to believe that its enactment might effect a complete settlement of this difficulty which for centuries had disturbed the peace of mankind. But a number of Ulsterites, encouraged by leading politicians of England—openly by all the Tories and secretly by many of the so-called Liberals—resolved to resist by arms the establishment of anything resembling a government in Ireland even though the limitations of its powers reduced it to little more than a shadow or simulacrum of government. These men were among the most prominent of the community. They organized regiments, paraded them in public reviews, and audaciously imported 100,000 stands of arms to be employed against the British Government if it undertook to enforce a home-rule act.

Mr. Carson, who had been a high official of the Crown, organized what he called a provisional government, and one F. E. Smith, who is not an Irishman, who has not a drop of Irish blood in his veins, who had no connection whatever by blood or property with the island, came over to Belfast, visited various places in Ulster and joined in arrangements to resist establishment of home rule. After this rebellion had been proclaimed and its forces actually organized, the Irish nationalists, who, mind you, were maintaining in office, the British Government then in power (it did not command a majority in parliament, except by the votes of Irish members) undertook to organize a volunteer force for the purpose of supporting enforcement of the home-rule measure. And then what happened? This Government maintained in office by Irish votes, forbade by proclamation admission of arms into Ireland, after the Ulsterites had obtained arms sufficient to equip the regiments they had organized for rebellion but before the nationalists volunteers were able to obtain any military equipment whatever. But even this did not satisfy these audacious rebels. Disregarding the proclamation of the Government and flouting its authority, they brought a cargo of arms into an Irish port and were suffered to land them without molestation or interference. Their defiance of authority was in fact treated as an excellent joke and became a subject of laughter. "Gun running" promised to become the favorite sport of these chartered rebels—chartered by the very Government they were defying. But when the nationalists undertook to bring in a cargo of arms the British soldiery appeared upon the spot and with bayonet and bullet prevented them from landing a single rifle, shooting down women and children who happened to be spectators. And so sedition was preached and practiced with impunity in Ulster while Irish nationalist volunteers when they attempted to sustain the Government were prosecuted and dispersed by order of the very men they kept in office. But even that was not all.

Under a new development of the British constitution a measure may become law notwithstanding its rejection by the House of Lords after it has been enacted three times in the House of Commons. This home-rule bill had been enacted once, and while the second enactment was in progress the military authorities—not the volunteers—but the regularly organized military forces of the Empire encamped at Kildare—were notified that possible violence in Ulster might require intervention by the soldiery to overcome it. And forth-

with all the high officers, with the exception of Gen. Paget, resigned their commissions and announced they would not draw their swords to maintain the authority of their Government because it would be drawing them in behalf of a cause which the Irish people supported and against the Ulsterites, who were their personal friends and with whose openly proclaimed intention to resist by arms the operation of a law enacted by the British Parliament they were in full sympathy. And these mutinous officers, instead of being court-martialed, degraded, discharged and shot, were not even questioned. Not merely were they suffered to retain their commissions, but most of them were actually advanced to higher commands.

Can you wonder at what followed? The Great War came on. Mr. Redmond, acting for the nationalists, pledged the Irish people to support the British cause. I think he made a capital mistake when he said that the Irish people would be satisfied to wait for enforcement of the home-rule bill after the war was over. However, this may be, certain it is that when the enlistments opened Irishmen went to the colors in great numbers. The nationalist leaders asked that these Irish soldiers be organized separately so that such deeds of valor as they accomplished would redound to the glory of their race. The request was denied. They were drafted into various regiments and companies. But wherever the fortunes of war were desperate and the casualties heaviest there Irishmen were found in numbers far in excess of the proportion they bore to the entire body of the British soldiery. And though they suffered heavier losses than any other men in the English service, their sacrifices were allowed to pass unrewarded and indeed unnoticed.

But worse was to follow. While Irish nationalists were dying by thousands under the British colors, repeating the sacrifices and services of their ancestors in Flanders a century earlier, it was resolved by the British Government to arrest the leaders of the nationalist volunteers and seize such arms as might be found in their possession. That purpose having become known, it provoked immediate spontaneous resistance. Without preparation or opportunity to rally even the scanty force they could command these Irishmen arose in revolt. Numbering less than 2,000, they held two entire British divisions at bay for over a week. And when, after a display of gallantry at which the world has wondered, and without having committed any excesses as their bitterest enemies acknowledged, they laid down their guns, the leaders (some 17 in number) were shot in cold blood. These men were the very flower of Irish life. The officials who took the lead in butchering them or in directing their butchery were the very men who had themselves preached rebellion and resistance to the Government. Once more the very best in the land, men of resplendent genius, of virtue personal and civic, absolutely unspotted and untarnished, were slaughtered, and over their dead bodies the basest were rising to conspicuous positions. The same accursed system that raised Emmet to the scaffold and Norbury to the peerage has in these days sent the brightest ornaments of Irish life to stand before a firing squad, and raised to the English wool-sack the man who had counseled the course these victims pursued.

Now, this simple narrative of facts which we all remember, demonstrates, it seems to me beyond a question, the absolute incapacity of England to do justice in Ireland. Everywhere else her rule may be beneficent. In her own country she maintains a government certainly better than any other in Europe. Many think it the best in the world. But in Ireland, by the confession of everyone, her own statesmen included, her attempt to govern the country has been the most wretched failure in the whole range of human annals. The reason for it is plain. It arises from a difficulty that is insuperable. For nearly 250 years all legislation in Ireland has proceeded on the assumption that the Ulsterite is a superior being, and that all other Irishmen are his inferiors. This, though fantastically absurd, is not to be wondered at. Because you cannot very well rob a man and then admit that he is your equal or that he is possessed of any merit whatever. You must assert and declare him unfit to enjoy either liberty or property at the same time that you despoil him in order to justify the spoliation. English writers and politicians are driven in self-defense to contend that the Irish are a shiftless, worthless, profitless race, the Ulsterites embodiments of industrial efficiency and frugality. In support of the misrepresentation they quote the prosperity of Ulster, always

omitting to point out that it enjoyed the essential conditions of prosperous commerce while the rest of Ireland was excluded from them. The different treatment always extended by British Government (no matter what party controlled it) to the different parts of Ireland, can not be explained upon any other theory. Remember, it was not only English Tories who have discriminated against one set of Irishmen in favor of the other. Liberal Englishmen have done it in even a more marked degree. It was a so-called Liberal Government kept in office by Irish votes that persecuted and suppressed the Irish nationalist volunteers who sought to support the measure of the British Government and encouraged the Ulsterite recalcitrants who proclaimed their intention to rebel against a law which aimed to do a faint measure of justice in Ireland.

All of which shows conclusively that England can not do justice in Ireland. She is absolutely incapable of it. She has failed signally and dismally. I believe that the majority of the English people were really anxious to establish home rule in Ireland before the war. They had voted in favor of it. Their representatives in Parliament enacted it. And yet when it came to putting it in operation forces too strong for the Government were able to prevent it.

And all of this, Senators, I believe, leads to one conclusion. Ireland must be released from this incubus. She must be delivered from this body of death, called English rule. She can not continue to exist under it. She will not. She would not deserve to exist if she accepted these conditions of degradation. She will never accept them. Her whole history shows that. There is no way in which her national spirit can be quenched. Efforts the most ruthless, backed by the utmost power of England continued through centuries, have failed to destroy Ireland's nationality. All the leagues of nations which might be formed on this earth could not keep Ireland submissive to this wrong. Thank God for it. In saying that for Ireland, I think I can say as much for America, too. (Applause.) I do not believe all the powers on earth, organized in a league of nations or otherwise, could keep America submissive under a wrong. (Applause.) I do not believe there is any chance that America will be reduced to a position where her people must revolt against her Government in order that justice may remain their birthright. And, therefore, I am as certain as I can be of anything that this treaty will be rejected, root and branch, as an abomination which the American people can not take to their bosoms.

There is but one thing necessary now to effect the emancipation of Ireland and the regeneration of the world. It is that we acknowledge and recognize the simplicities of the situation which this war has created, as Senator Knox described them yesterday, and then govern our course by this infallible guide.

What is it that the world needs? Everyone will answer, "Peace." Of course it is. But what is peace?

Peace is not merely the removal of contending armies from the field of battle. It means deliverance of the nations from the preoccupation and obsession of wasteful preparations for war. For years before the late conflict began the world was practically in a state of war. It was paying the price of war. Notwithstanding a great increase in the production of commodities prices instead of falling were rising. This increase in the cost of living could be accounted for on no basis except the tremendous expense of supporting 5,000,000 men in the very flower of their productive efficiency idle in barracks and equipping them with the weapons which would make them effective in battle. That was a terrible burden before the war. But now if that burden is to continue it must destroy or at least imperil the solvency of the entire world. And an insolvent world must necessarily be a starving world.

Remember that during the 100 years of peace which followed Waterloo there was an enormous growth of population. That growth was confined almost entirely to the cities; rural populations declined rather than increased. In all those cities there is not a single human being who produces the necessities of his own existence. Five or six millions of people have established themselves on the Hudson River and the East River in what is called the great city of New York. There they live on the contributions of workers from all over the world. Everything that enters into their industry must be contributed from outside the city. Anybody who has ever looked upon those

great chimneys and seen the smoke of manufacture rising to the heavens—incense with industry burns before the throne of God—must realize the close interdependence between all human beings in the world today. Everything that enters into production, the very stones of the structure in which industry operates, the very beams of the building in which it is sheltered, the raw materials of manufacture, the clothing of the worker, all come from outside. The dweller in the cities depends for his subsistence upon the labor of all the world.

Before the war 4,000,000 of these 5,000,000 people lived literally from hand to mouth. And the same is true of people in every other great city. But now \$250,000,000,000 of the capital by which industry was formerly made effective has perished. Ten million human beings in the flower of their industrial efficiency are dead, maimed and rendered inefficient. With this loss of capital and productive energy how are these mighty populations to continue to be fed, clothed and housed? There is but one way. The waste of war and of preparation for war must be ended. All over the world men must put away weapons of conflict and take into their hands implements of industry. If disarmament can be made universal, then this war will be converted from the greatest scourge ever laid upon the backs of the human race into the greatest blessing which a Merciful Providence has ever extended to them.

It is the unbroken lesson of history that sacrifices imposed on one generation are the necessary price of every great advance, material and moral, accomplished by other generations. The French Revolution, which caused wars that devastated the Old World for over 20 years, resulted in uprooting survivals of feudalism which had seriously hampered industry, and it was followed by an improvement in human conditions so remarkable that when we contrast the condition of the world during the last hundred years with its condition during any previous period, it seems as if we were considering two separate planets peopled by a wholly different species of animated beings.

After our Civil War, notwithstanding its enormous waste, substitution of free labor for slave labor opened a fountain of prosperity which more than repaired in five years the terrible destruction of battle. And now if we can absorb all the energies of mankind in production of commodities necessary to human subsistence, the ravages of this war will be repaired in five years, and the human family will reach a plane of prosperity higher than it has ever achieved. The world is at the parting of the ways. Either it must take, through disarmament, the path leading upward to prosperity that will be immeasurable, or else through efforts to maintain huge military establishments it must sink through confusion and disaster to ruin, which will be irretrievable. Which path shall be chosen? Your action, Senators, on this treaty will decide. Mr. Chairman, if we follow the path marked out by this attempt through a new covenant to perpetuate the conditions from which we hoped that the war would deliver us, if we increase armaments instead of abolishing them, if, in a word, this proposed treaty is ratified, the league of nations, which it establishes, which is a league not to promote peace, but to prohibit peace, as Senator Knox has well said, it will prove to be the greatest curse that has ever blighted the prospects of humanity. (Applause.)

But I have not the slightest apprehension on this score. Thank God, a spirit of genuine Americanism survives in the Senate which will deliver this country from the peril that threatens it and dispel from our horizon the cloud that darkens it. I think I may say with perfect confidence that since this treaty was laid upon the table of the Senate the discussion which its provisions have evoked has raised the standard of senatorial eloquence and senatorial statesmanship to a plane higher than ever before attained in its history. (Applause.) I can quote speeches delivered by men who sit around me that can not be paralleled by any delivered in the Senate since its organization, and I do not except even that much-lauded reply of Daniel Webster to Senator Haynes, of South Carolina. When we realize the wealth of information those speeches disclose, the high spirit of patriotic devotion they attest, the stern resolution in the teeth of misrepresentations as ingenious as they are reckless to maintain the integrity of our institutions, which they establish, nothing in the past history of Congress compares with them.

But even if the Senate were indifferent or inefficient, there would remain the unerring judgment, the infallible wisdom, the sensitive conscience of the American people. America has accomplished the greatest things ever achieved in the history of mankind, things which have been so universally recognized as of transcendent value to civilization that even if they could be changed no human being would venture to disturb them. If anybody had the power to disturb them and should attempt it, the whole conscience of Christendom would rally to preserve them as priceless possessions of the whole human family. Yet these great achievements were attained not through politicians or statesmen but largely in spite of them. The people have always done better than the politicians or statesmen had advised.

This war which we can all now see was absolutely essential to preservation of our civilization was not a distinctive policy of the President who conducted it. He went into a campaign and sought re-election—with perfect sincerity, as I believe—upon a proposition that he had kept us out of war. He could not have intended to advise a declaration of war when he called the extra session, because he did that only after failure of a measure recommended by him which did not look toward war but merely to the arming of merchant ships. It was essentially the war of the American people, not of the American President.

The war with Spain was forced upon a reluctant Executive, as I think the chairman of this committee will admit, close as he was to the administration of the very distinguished President who caused its declaration. And the reconstruction of the Southern States after the Civil War was not what anybody had suggested. It is now clear that if either party had had its way the country would not yet have recovered from its ravages. I remember when Mr. Tilden was—as I believed at the time and have not wholly changed my opinion—cheated out of the office to which he had been elected. I thought it was the end of this Government. I thought that the South must remain indefinitely under the cruel heel of oppression, with rival governments in three different States, and that all possibility of reconstruction on the basis of reconciliation had faded away into limitless distance. Looking back now, I can see that it was the providence of God that put the task of withdrawing the Federal troops from South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida into the hands of a Republican President, thus making it a common policy of the whole country, which Democrats were delighted to welcome and which Republicans were not in a position to criticize.

The War of 1812 was forced on President Madison. Senator Knox, who has undoubtedly studied closely the archives of the State Department, knows that the purchase of Louisiana, as we understand it, was never contemplated by Thomas Jefferson. He sought only to acquire the Island of Orleans. The purchase of the great territory north of the present boundary of Louisiana was forced on him. It was accepted as a necessary condition by his supporters, and urged as a reason for rejecting the whole treaty by others, on the ground that these desert wilds could never be of any value to us. But the people builded wiser than the statesmen of those years.

And now, when the greatest emergency that has ever confronted the country is upon us, I believe that the people's conscience, the people's judgment, and the people's wisdom, will reinforce the determination of these Senators who have already checked, and who I believe will succeed in defeating the attempt by this treaty to betray the causes and purposes for which the war was fought. I do not charge deliberate treason against anyone, but I do say that betrayal of the causes for which this war was fought and won will be the net result, if the purposes of those who negotiated this treaty shall be accomplished.

We are told that even an amendment of this treaty will lead to its rejection. Well, what of that? Suppose it is defeated, could we conceive anything more auspicious? The league of nations which it undertakes to establish is imperfect by the concession of everybody.

The Shantung provision is an abomination. Yet we are told that we must yield to that abomination and make ourselves parties to it. My God, Mr. Chairman, when did it come to pass that the word "must" can be addressed to the American Nation? (Applause.) When this Nation consisted of little

more than a few villages straggling along the Atlantic coast, the suggestion was made that forbearance of the greatest military power in the world at that time could be secured by a substantial advance of money. The answer was given without an instant's hesitation: "Millions for defense; not one cent for tribute." (Applause.)

And, sir, we are now to pay not a tribute of money but a tribute of infamy, by the confession of everybody, in order to establish a league which has not and can not operate for peace, but in the very nature of things, as has been conclusively shown by Mr. Knox and other Senators, must operate to make war frequent, if not perpetual? Is there in that treaty one single word of which any American should be proud? Does it liberate a single people who seek emancipation, except as an act of vengeance against the countries that were overthrown? Does it hold a word of hope to nations that are languishing in chains and determined to break them? Far from that, it creates new spoliations and makes us a party to them. Without our participation they could not become effective. (Applause.)

But we are told that we can ratify this treaty and pass a resolution declaring that we don't like these infamies at the very time that we are perpetrating them. Now, I can have some respect—at least I can understand the attitude of a man who perpetrates an infamy because he wants to—but I have no patience with a man who, after making himself party to an infamy, seeks to excuse himself by saying that he dislikes it. (Applause.) One man is formidable to justice, the other is contemptible in every sense. But thank God the Government of the United States is not going to be contemptible. (Applause.)

Now, in all this I do not intend the slightest reflection on the President of the United States. I think I ought to say that. (Laughter.) No, no; Senators, let me say this to you: I think the place of the President in history is a high one, and I think it is secure. I think it is so secure that it can not be overthrown by anything except ratification of this treaty, and against that the Senate is, I think, immovable. His definition of the cause which led us into the war has become one of the priceless possessions of humanity. The 14 points are not dead. They are alive; they are here. (Applause.) We are appealing to them now, and the appeal will not be in vain. They can never die.

I was one of those who sincerely deplored his going abroad. I did not believe then, and I do not believe now, that the President of the United States is ever justified in placing his person under the jurisdiction or in the power of a foreign Government, especially when he is engaged in a negotiation affecting the sovereignty of the United States. While his person is under foreign jurisdiction he can be coerced in many ways. I think he was coerced in one way which proved effective, and that was by threatening him covertly or openly with some manifestation of disapproval or by withholding from him the applause which they gave him in overflowing measure when he first appeared on the European Continent. It is impossible otherwise to account for his acceptance of provisions in this treaty which he himself declares to be objectionable. But I want to say this: The world which heard the words he uttered when urging Congress to declare war became that moment a different world from what it had ever been before. I wrote to Mr. Tumulty at that time, and I felt deeply in my soul that this address of the President would pass into history as the most momentous utterance that ever fell from human lips since Pope Urban II preached the First Crusade at Clermont-Ferrand, over 800 years ago. When he said this war was waged to make the world safe for democracy, and men shed their blood to make his declaration effective, it became impossible for the earth which received that libation ever again to tolerate, in Ireland or anywhere else in the world, conditions those heroes died to overthrow. (Applause.)

After speaking these words it became as impossible for the President to come back and set up such a machinery of force to dominate the world, as is embodied in this treaty, as it would have been for Godfrey, of Bouillon, or any other leader of the Crusades to establish Mohammedanism in his own dominion after his return from attempting to overthrow it in the Holy Land. Even though the President has himself forsaken the 14 points, the

principle embodied in them remains to render the dominion of brute force impossible anywhere within the limits of civilization.

How the reign of brute force will be abolished in Ireland I can not tell at this moment any more than any one at the close of the Civil War could have foretold the splendidly successful reconstruction of the Southern States that followed. I am sure the chairman of this committee will recall that the leaders of the dominant party at that time, men like Charles Sumner and Thaddeus M. Stevens and Oliver P. Morton, patriots of the highest type, believed it would be necessary to take the most drastic precautions against a renewal of secession. On the other hand, the leaders of the Democratic Party in the South believed that they were entitled at once to unconditional restoration of their government and freedom to re-establish their social and economic life as they pleased. A golden mean was struck between the two. Their governments were given back to the Southern people when it became clear that there would be no attempt to restore slavery or to fasten the Confederate debt on any part of this country. And then those States which had been ravaged as no other land had been ravaged before, whose industrial system had been subverted, whose cities had been burned, whose fields had been devastated, where the last dollar of capital had been expended, rose from the ashes of defeat almost in a night and marched forward to a prosperity greater than that which has blessed any other part of this country.

So I firmly believe that out of all this discussion, contention, and confusion of views the thing will emerge which the world needs. And that is disarmament. When disarmament becomes universal, then peace will be firmly established, for the very simple reason that when all nations are disarmed there will not be any means with which any of them can fight against another. Let us, then, insist that the outcome of this war shall be disarmament of all nations. We have the power to enforce this policy, and we need not lift a finger to do it. As Senator Knox pointed out yesterday, the whole world is bankrupt. Many nations are still intent on maintaining great armaments, but they can not support them unless we give them the means. It is certainly impossible for any of them to reorganize its industry and at the same time maintain a great military establishment. The hope of each one is that we will advance it the capital essential to its industrial reorganization, and then it will use its own resources to maintain a great armament on land and sea.

I do not believe any American would object to aid the restoration of stricken Europe, but I do think it is our paramount duty to insist that before we extend the benefit of our resources to any other country all its own resources be devoted to restoring its industry. We should not aid it while it diverted one penny of its own possessions to military enterprises. To force universal disarmament, therefore, it is only necessary that this country resume the role which it has played since its organization.

For the first time in the history of the world a great war has ended leaving one power able to maintain the greatest armaments on land and sea, and that power does not want to establish them. That power possesses the resources to resuscitate society, and it does not want to exercise the power thus given it for any other purpose than to benefit the whole human family. And now, while we are ready to expend our treasure for the welfare of all the world, what is it that by this treaty we are asked to do? As Senator Knox well said yesterday, we are asked to use our resources for the regeneration of the world, not according to our own idea of what would be most effective, but by submitting our judgment to that of other nations whose policies have led them to the pass out of which they are crying to us for deliverance. Now, if there be in all this world any force, country, government, or political system better qualified than America to employ enormous resources for the benefit of mankind by enforcing justice, I am ready, for my part, to see our resources turned over to that superior agency. But where is it? Where can it be found? Where is there in the universe any force comparable to the United States as an agency to use unlimited resources for the improvement of human conditions? Such a power or force can not be found. It does not exist. And yet we are asked to subordinate our control over our own resources to the judgment of nations which I think nobody here will dispute are inferior to us in intelligence and in love of justice. We are asked to give up the greater for the less, to

abase ourselves from the lofty position to which Providence has assigned us and deliberately sink to a lower level.

But it is said that if we maintain control over our own destiny we are in danger of isolation.

Well, Mr. Chairman, our isolation was decreed by Almighty God when He gave us the first place in civilization. Eminence is always isolation. But the eminence which we have always enjoyed is not an isolation which we want selfishly to retain. No, no, no; America invites all the world to end that isolation by coming up and sharing the eminence which she has occupied since the organization of this Republic. (Applause.) From the spirit that has been displayed in this gathering here today I have unbounded confidence that this country will not terminate that eminence by coming down from it and abasing itself to the prejudices and hostilities and cupidities of those European powers that have plunged the world into the welter of blood from which we have just delivered them, and from whose consequences we now hope to shield them.

Senator Knox has stated, much better than I can state it, the true policy we should pursue. When disarmament is secured the nations can not fight. And then an unarmed world will naturally and inevitably produce a league of nations to adjust disputes. While unarmed nations can not fight without at least three years' preparation, there will be disputes as long as there are human beings on the earth. Now, there are but two things that men or nations can do when they engage in disputes—they can either fight about them or they can talk about them. If they have not the means to fight, then there is nothing left to do but talk about them. And when by disarmament they are placed in a position where all they can do is to talk, they will inevitably take measures to make that talk effective, which means they will establish tribunals or bodies of some description before which these disputes can be adjusted, if they are capable of adjustment. Leagues of nations can not produce peace. But peace can and will produce a league of nations—a true league of nations—a league capable of meeting the requirements of civilization. And with all the world disarmed, no nation can be held in subjection against the will of its inhabitants to another. Ireland will be free, and every nation now denied the blessings of liberty will obtain them. That, Mr. Chairman, I believe will be the outcome of this situation. It may not come immediately. But come it must and come it will. Anything else spells not merely danger but ruin to civilization.

Mr. Chairman, these are the conclusions which I submit respectfully but most hopefully to this committee. Peace—not merely cessation of war, but cessation of preparations for war—is absolutely essential to human existence under the conditions which now govern the world.

Peace must be established in Ireland before it can be made permanent throughout the world. Peace can not be established in Ireland by England. Eight centuries of history prove that. The Irish people who have resisted foreign domination for nine centuries will not submit to it, even though an attempt to force it upon them were made by a thousand leagues of nations.

The league of nations here proposed is an abomination, an attempt to use the conscience of Christendom to sanction and perpetuate wrongs which morality and justice condemn. But although judgment and good sense may have departed from quarters where we have a right to expect that they would be found, yet we feel profoundly confident that here in this body the wisdom of the fathers will be vindicated by such a display of patriotism, such an exercise of vigilance, as will insure to this people the rights to which they were born, the rights which some of us who came here from other lands have acquired through the operation of our constitutional system; and by maintaining this Constitution intact, you Senators will become the effective instruments ordained by Providence to keep trimmed and shining before the eyes of all men the lamp which will guide their footsteps to freedom, to justice and to unending prosperity.





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